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*Der Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren.* Von Dr.

PAUL HAAKE, Professor an der Universität Berlin. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1921. Pp. vii, 126. M. 12.)

THE publication of this monograph is worth comment irrespective of its real merits. It appears in a series similar to the prize essays of our own Historical Association but at the risk of a private publisher. Is there any other land so economically exhausted where a publisher would continue to put out such historical monographs? The second point is that the author has thought it timely to make a synthesis of his previous special studies of an historical period in which consistent effort and popular demand brought Prussia to the verge of popular representation and modern political institutions.

For the period covered (1806-1823) and the theme chosen, the rise and fall of the idea of a central representative legislature for all Prussia, it is the best survey in print. This excellence arises from the inclusion of the neglected eight years from 1815 to 1823. For the earlier period it owes much in interpretation and treatment to Meinecke, whose brilliant and suggestive survey is nowhere reached by Professor Haake's heavy style. His selection of essential facts is excellent throughout.

The struggle for a constitution, chiefly a national assembly, is divided into three periods—is there anything the historical mind doesn't divide by three? The first period closes with the fall of Stein in November, 1808, and the passing of Frederick William III.'s momentary and unreal acquiescence in a plan for national representation. The second phase, which, as a period, is a subjective product of the author's mind and is really a part of the first, runs through the Wars of Liberation. The battle seems to him to have a more extended front and to exhibit definite groups, comparable to real parties.

The third and last phase includes the years 1815 to 1823 and ends in the decision to recall or establish eight provincial diets along old lines. This was a defeat for Hardenberg and the liberals, and attested the dominance of the feudal party over any attempt to modernize the political central government of Prussia. It is in the survey of this third period that the author makes his real contribution.

The key to the whole situation was Frederick William III. The author is clear on this, and it is refreshing to have this narrow-minded, timid, and essentially reactionary sovereign characterized without any of the restraint that even his most hostile German critics have hitherto exercised. Given such a sovereign with full power to grant or withhold a charter, and the outcome of any movement for liberalism was foredoomed. Only as dire necessity grasped him by the throat could any reformer, whether his name were Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, Boyen, or Humboldt extract a reluctant consent from Frederick William III. Even his subordination to Alexander I. during the latter's lustrum of liberalism was unnatural. It is not difficult for the author to show

that all hope of a real representative body for Prussia was dead before the Teplitz conference in 1819.

Nevertheless the author, who is a defender of Hardenberg, makes the battle between the chancellor and the reactionaries led by Ancillon, Karl of Mecklenburg, Marwitz, Wittgenstein, Albrecht, and Knesebeck seem a very real one, in which Humboldt, who had much the same aims as Hardenberg, really gave the Brutus stab.

In the failure of Frederick William III. to follow the modestly liberal policy of Hardenberg after 1815, and by such timely concessions to set the feet of the Hohenzollern monarchy on the path to modern government, Professor Haake finds the answer to the question as to why the Hohenzollerns no longer rule. Possibly; but without offering a defense of Frederick William III., there is much before and after him that goes to the explanation of such a downfall.

G. S. FORD.

*A History of the Chartist Movement.* By JULIUS WEST, with an Introductory Memoir by J. C. SQUIRE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 316. \$4.00.)

THE most valuable contribution of this book to historical literature is that it indicates a state of mind. Studies in the early origins of labor or working-class movements are, at the present time, as fashionable in certain circles as were researches in early Christian lore some few decades ago. The last ten years have witnessed the publication of no less than seven scholarly studies on Chartism, one in German, one in French, and five in English. Of this book it may be said that its principal differentiation from the earlier volumes lies in this fact: it attaches to this abortive protest and muddle-headed revolt even more significance than do its predecessors.

To the late Mr. West, Chartism "made possible (indirectly) the renascent trade-union movement of the fifties, the gradually improving condition of the working classes, the Labour Party, the co-operative movement and whatever greater triumphs labour will enjoy in the future". In consequence, to him, the roster of the names of delegates at the Chartist Convention becomes by implication as important as that of the signers of the Constitution of the United States, and the minutiae of the agricultural experiments of Feargus O'Connor take on as much interest as the diplomacy of the Congress of Vienna.

The reviewer has no right to quarrel with this point of view. He may, however, call attention to this fact: Chartism as a subject for historical research has been overworked. The three doctoral dissertations of Columbia University in 1916, and Hovell's *Chartism*, published in 1918, have covered this particular field fairly well, and he to whom political and industrial democracy still disclose the path toward the Golden Age might well turn his attention to many of the other phases of the labor movement as yet but partially studied.